1: Gifford

OU9 Tonga OU9

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858
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[For information on the special status and treatment of the chief's son and daughter in Tongan society, see Categories 622 and 554 (Category 116, pp. 128-130).]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava."

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Ḥahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

be ten. Ten heads as trophies, or ten enemies slain, was the aim of each warrior. Ten sharks taken relieved fishing-canoe owners from further ceremonial observances. Ten constituted the winning number of points in dart-throwing (*sika*) and bowling (*fakateka*).

The term *tukutuku taumuli* is to make a new boat lucky. Whether it is an actual object or merely a ceremonial act, I did not learn.

Fishermen doubtless had many magical practices in connection with their profession. The following is a fisherman's call, bidding the fish to partake of the bait:

E kai mai, kai mai,	O, eat there! eat there!
E tuona, faona, kai ho'o feke kuo osi mama,	O pull, stretch, eat your masticated octopus,
E tuona, tuo tuona, faona mai kai ma,	O pull, pull steady, stretch there, eat there
Kai mai e.	O eat there!

Whether the call is used for shark fishing, I cannot say, but at any rate, the fishermen talk to the shark, directing its actions and soliciting its help. Often the shark is called Hina and is perhaps identified with that deity (26, p. 183).

The sea slug (*mulione*) when taken, is split in half along its lateral edge and the upper half thrown back into the water with the belief that a new slug will grow from it.

Weak children, when weaned, are fed on rats and cats to get back their strength, as these animals are said to be long lived and hard to kill. The same idea is involved in the use of the word *kuma* (rat) as a personal name for a child who nearly dies at birth. The name Kuma is believed to preserve his life.

To-day there is a certain amount of belief in witchcraft. A wizard or witch is called a *fakalouakau* (*louakau*, leaf; *lou*, leaf; *akau*, a tree or medicine). It seems likely, therefore, that interpreted literally *fakalouakau* means a person who operates with leaf medicine. The accounts of two informants which I obtained in 1920 stress the use of leaves in witchcraft.

An informant in Lifuka Island, Haapai, said that the sorcerer operates with different kinds of leaves rolled in a ball and wrapped in tapa, the ball being placed in the dwelling house or somewhere in the plantation of the victim to encompass his sickness and death or to cause his crops to fail. As the leaves in the ball rotted the victim was believed to sicken.

The second informant (or rather, pair of informants, a man and wife), interviewed on the island of Nomuka, Haapai, said that the aid of a *tevolo* was necessary for success in witchcraft. A man who became a wizard went into the bush and prepared a bamboo tube in which he put the leaves. The informant said that if a person steals up close to the wizard he will hear

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

whom she belonged as a prisoner of war, and who had been requested by one of the officers of the ship to send a female on board. Captain Cook, also, strongly notices the reserve and modesty of the females of these islands; and the observations of this accurate narrator will serve to corroborate what we have been stating. We have already noticed the humane character of the Tonga females, and in addition we beg to observe, that their behaviour as daughters, wives, and mothers, is very far from being unworthy of imitation: children, consequently, are taken the utmost care of; they are never neglected either in respect of personal cleanliness or diet: as they grow older, the boys are made to exercise thamselves in athletic sports; the girls are made occasionally to attend to the acquirement of suitable arts and manufactures, and of a number of little ornamental accomplishments which tend to render them agreeable companions, and proper objects of esteem: they are taught to plait various pretty and fanciful devices in flowers, &c. which they present to their fathers, brothers, and superior chiefs, denoting respect for those who fill higher circles than themselves. There is still one observation to be made with respect to females, and which is not of small importance, since it tends to prove

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

found always to have a thin layer of the rotten wood between them. The expression therefore indicates those who should be in the closest possible contact and give the greatest support to each other, but who do not do so. Beside the ordinary Samoan term *afato*, Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language) gives *moe'ese'ese* as a name for this grub. *Moe'ese'ese* means "sleeping in different places" and apparently refers to the same peculiarity as is noted in the Tongan proverb. [For a description of the *afato* (Samoan, *afato*) see Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, Band II, p. 430.]

BIRDS

160. Hange ha moa liaki kovi: Like a hen deserting badly.

Refers to a hen who deserts her chicks before they are able to fly to a roost and look after themselves. Applied to parents who neglect their children.

161. Hange ha momoa fiji: Like a handsome cock.

This is not quite literal, the word *fiji*, rendered handsome, being one of the descriptive terms applied by the Tongans to fowls, and indicating a dark plumaged bird that is reckoned the finest looking of all. Applied to a man of handsome bold aspect.

162. Jitua kae kio: Gone away but squeaking.

The picture is that of a man who has stolen a mother hen from her chickens. He gets off unobserved with his catch but leaves the young ones squawking until they attract attention and the theft is discovered. Used of the traces which one leaves of his wrong-doing and by which he is found out.

163. Lilolilo pea kio: Hidden and chirping.

A young chick hidden from sight will chirp and thus make itself known. Thus an action may be done secretly but there will be some slight indication by which it will be betrayed.

164. Kai lalo hakalo: Eating under the coconut scraper.

Coconut broken into small pieces by a scraper is very commonly used for feeding fowls. The thoroughly tame fowls will come and eat the nut as the pieces fall from the scraper but the wilder birds will not venture near. Used of giving up wild shy ways and becoming thoroughly domesticated.

165. Kainga a moa taane: Friendship of a breeding cock.

A couple of roosters may be friends but there will come a day when they will fight. Two high-spirited warriors may be friends but they are likely to fight at last. Friendship between those who are apt to fight with each other.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

the *ulua* appears they will at once leave the pursuit of the inferior fish and confine their attention to the newcomer. This expression lends itself to numerous obvious applications but seems especially used of a girl who is being wooed by a man of low degree when a chief steps into the arena and also becomes a suitor for her affection. The small fry will at once be neglected in favor of the more lordly catch.

195. Mau e tukuku o ave maa Talanuku: Get a *tukuku* and take it to Talanuku.

This is equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Talanuku was a great chief, though it seems to be forgotten just who he was; at any rate our inquiries have not yet succeeded in placing him. To him of course flowed the food and wealth of the country. The *tukuku* is a small bony fish.

196. Hange ha ulua ha heli: Like an *ulua* (mackerel) lashing *heli*.

The *heli* is a small fish, usually found swarming in large numbers. When the large vigorous mackerel charges in among these small fry he makes a great dispersal. Used of a man who charges in strongly scattering other people, things, difficulties, to left and right.

197. Hange ha ulua oho-kai: Like an *ulua* rushing for food.

The *ulua* (a mackerel) is a large vigorous fish, and when he is pursuing other fish he presses his attack strongly. Applied to one who when he has any work on hand goes into it with all his might.

198. Hange ha fanau a ha fonu: Like a turtle's family.

The turtle lays her eggs in the sand and leaves them there to hatch. About the time when the young turtles should appear the mother is reputed to re-visit the spot where she laid her eggs and to take up her station at the edge of the water. As the young turtles make their way down to the sea the mother seizes them and eats them. Only those who do not take the straight track to the water, but go off to one side or the other, escape their unnatural mother. The expression is used of parents who are unkind to their children or of persons generally who are unkind to close relatives.

199. Hange ha ika kuo vae: Like a fish that is divided.

This refers to a fish whose flesh is marked with clearly defined divisions. Applied to that which is well divided, as a speech skillfully broken up into appropriate headings.

200. He oku ai ha ika e lele ki he hiku: What, is there a fish that will swim (run) towards the tail?

The fish swims forwards, headwise, not backwards, tail-wise. The expression has a special application to the family, which is naturally reck-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating. [602]

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives.

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 828

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 844 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 593 554 851 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 855 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 597 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 597 571 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 571 829 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

539 593 855 **439. Pelepele pea mele:** Petted and coming to grief.

Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

553 604 574 43 [844] [562]

mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification [561] because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in [865] the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

854 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen 855 months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or 855 who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally 861 severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, independent of sex and almost independent of measures of physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of those older and in turn passes them on to those younger still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls, aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately after the commands and orders would be resumed. The principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should in some measure be made the basis for the organization of interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses. In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably swam in their clothes.

PUBERTY

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

extent, and form the chief source from whence evils arise, among church members, which require the exercise of discipline by the Missionaries.

The morals of the Tonguese were never so thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or Society Islanders, and other groups that might be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to show how low humanity could fall, when without the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith. Polygamy was common, the number of a man's wives depending upon his own inclination, and his ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to have bordered on morality; for, after the parties had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was considered disgraceful to separate. There were also some, even among the better classes, who were content to live with one wife only; and examples of domestic happiness were by no means uncommon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history, and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation. Children were nurtured with great care and affection; and aged people were not subjected to the neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet, with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and want of natural affection.

There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

scrupled at our most intimate connexions with their women for a very moderate price, and absolutely converted it into a fix'd article of trade to their no small emolument. It should not however be understood that this is without exception universal, as there are many women who either from their connections, natural timidity, or absolute aversion to such promiscuous engagements are not pregnable on any terms, independent of those who are understood to be married.

This extensive and gentle empire which Love has planted amongst them is so far from loosening that it cements the bands of Society. The sexes seem to live in the most perfect harmony undisturb'd by jealousy on either side,[1] and what is perhaps still more uncommon, that almost universal passion seems to be quite a stranger amongst the female part with respect to each other. Amongst the various lovers that present themselves it may be easily suppos'd a woman will soon discover, either from interest or desire, one whom she would wish to attach herself to, & he probably from her assiduity to please will be fix'd from roving, from whence it is not uncommon to see such cases before a lasting union is agreed on as far as we could perceive from circumstances. When that has taken place the domestic felicity seems to increase; for as they often become mothers at an early age their affection for their children and care in providing for them excites their industry in conjunction with that of the husband, and soon obliterates their wish for such unstable connections as before that period. When they cease to bear children they appear to gain instead of lose respect, and though they then appear to have some weight in the management of the younger sort it seems ultimately to be left to the decision of the men, who though absolute excercise their power in a very gentle manner except in a few cases.

Their mutual affection does not cease on this side of the grave, nor can they believe that death bereaves them of the merit of expressing their long grief by removing the object from their sight, and rendering it unsusceptible of the various proofs of their kindness. Nothing however does them greater credit nor can be a greater proof of their humanity than the concern the[y] show for and decent disposal of the dead. Their mourning is, to use a common expression, not in words but deeds, for besides the Tooge, burnt circles and scars mention'd before they beat the teeth with stone[s], strike a sharks tooth into the head untill the blood flows in streams and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, the sides below the armpits, and through the cheeks into the mouth—all operations that convey

[1] But cf. p. 960 below, where a commoner and a chief's wife were concerned.

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

175 161 114 [162] 1850:245). Archival research in Australia revealed an intriguing census figure for the main island of Tongatapu for the year 1824: 34,800 Tongans (Beveridge 1824). Unfortunately, the good Captain had less the motivations of a preliminary census taker and more the motives of businessman *cum* sea captain trying to convince the Wesleyan Mission (with whom he had contacts and to whom the letter was written) of the tremendous "sales market" for material goods and nineteenth century Christianity in the archipelago.[1]

Aboriginal Adoption

597 Tongans had at least five distinct terms involving transactions between kinsmen which could be glossed under the one rubric "adoption" (and which have been glossed thusly in the past): these were *tauhi, ngaahi, fakahingoa, pusiaki,* and *ohi*. The recent research suggests, however, that *ohi* is the only term that should be termed "adoption" in aboriginal Tonga. Every time an *ohi* transaction took place there was a distinct and permanent change in (1) the rank and (2) the residence of the adopted individual. These permanent changes did not take place when the first four transactions occurred.

Rank and residence pattern are the two criteria by which adoption must be gauged in aboriginal Tonga. When a child was involved in an *ohi* transaction, that is, an adoption involving the permanent substitution of full rights of parenthood from biological parents to other individuals as parents, the adoptee had a permanent change in his (or her) rank relative to all kinsmen; the adoptee also made a permanent move into the residential area of the adopting individuals. The adopted child was treated as if he or she were actually a biological child of the adopting parents, and all important genealogical positioning was henceforth determined for the adopted individual from the adopting parents. The change in residence meant that the adopting parents were totally responsible for the welfare and up-bringing of the adopted child. Such a residential change could involve a move from one island group to another island group, or changes in residence from one village to another village (or district) on the same island.

Not-Adoption

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga will be clearer after discussing that which was not adoption. *Tauhi*, or "looking after someone," was not adoption since it merely referred to the process by which one individual looked after the child of another individual. Looking after someone was only a transitory transaction and did not involve any change in the rank of the individual who was thus looked after (although it could obviously imply a residential shift).[2]

597 855

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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Ngaahi (or *ngaohi*) and *fakahingoa* referred to two concepts of "name giving" in aboriginal Tonga. Neither of these naming processes, however, was an adoption transaction since naming merely involved one individual giving a name to a child other than his or her own. The child so named would continue to live with his or her own biological parents after the naming and parental responsibility for raising the child would still lie with the child's own biological parents.

Ngaahi did not change the rank of the child named and could not be considered an adoption in aboriginal Tonga, even though the term is currently defined as "to bring up (a child), or to adopt and bring up" (Churchward 1959:385). *Fakahingoa*, on the other hand, if done by a person of higher rank than the child's own biological parents could change the rank of the child so named. Yet this naming process would still not be adoption because the child so named would continue to live with his or her own biological parents and the biological parents would be responsible for the upbringing of the child. Adoption involved more than naming.[3]

The term *pusiaki* stood for "fosterage" in aboriginal Tonga and it involved a child leaving the residence of his or her biological parents and being raised by foster parents, but the child would still have his or her rank in life determined by the biological parents. A fosterage transaction would require the foster parents to give the child a name and be responsible for the child's welfare, but the rank of the child relative to other kin would not be altered. A fostered child would be looked after by kin. The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas (in the archipelago from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859) wrote in his *Journal* in 1835 how he:

> baptized a fine female child belonging to Baula Halaevalu calling it Eliza Ann or Ilaisuane. The sister of its mother adopted it (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 1, 1835).

This transferral of parental obligations was not "adoption" as Thomas recorded, but *pusiaki* "fosterage" since 'Ilaisane's rank in life came from her actual biological parent Paula Halaevalu. (Halaevalu was a son of 'Ulakai, who was a son of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Tuku'aho.) Fosterage did not result in a permanent change in the foster child's rank and was not adoption.[4]

Why Adopt?

Adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga served to broaden the political base of various individuals. In aboriginal Tonga, kinship and the concomitant adoption transactions were inextricably interwoven into the political structure. Politics in Tonga was the technique of dealing with the activities of the *ha'a*, or corporate land-holding descent groups. The primary purpose of adoption in aboriginal Tonga was to unify the various *ha'a*, and

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga stated:

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*).

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitution for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The "Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be made aware of this.

NOTES

1. Funding for the research partially presented in this paper was provided, in part, by an NDEA (Title IV) Fellowship and an NIH Traineeship (PHS Grant 5 T01 GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present.
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" (C. M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse; a

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

557 855 protector" or "to protect to provide for" (S. Rabone 1845:182; *vide* S. Baker 1897:175).

597 553 114 3. Baker also has *gaohi* erroneously defined as "adopt" (1897:2), along with *ohi* properly defined as "adopt" (*ibid*., p. 2 and p. 15). In his 1845 work, Rabone does not have the term *gaohi* nor any variation on it, but he does have *ohi* as "to adopt" (1845:19). For *fakahingoa* see Baker (1897:50), Churchward (1959:44) and Rabone (1845:59).

597 855 4. Churchward has defined *pusiaki* as "to rear (a child or a young animal) away from its mother" and states that one should compare it to *ohi* (1959:424). In the orthography of the nineteenth century, Rabone has *bujiaki* defined as "a pet; anything petted" or "to pet; to feed by hand" (1845:34). Baker's work, based on Rabone, also has the same but adds "foster" as *"ke bujiaki"* (1897:28). Churchward also utilizes *pusiaki* in the context of "foster-child" and "foster-parents" (1959:656).

597 557 613 554 565 5. The concept *'eiki* was one of "noble birth" in aboriginal Tonga and the term *'eiki* is not immediately synonymous with the term "chief." A title was given to an individual because of some special aspect of the individual and there were titled *'eiki* as well as titled non-*'eiki*; to finish out the simple 2x2 analysis, there were also non-titled *'eiki* and non-titled non-*'eiki* individuals (the last category being the bulk of the Tongan populace in the past and in the twentieth century). For further particulars see Urbanowicz (1973 and 1973/74).

597 114 6. The only way a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal (or early contacted) culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining to that culture and then make comparisons both internally and externally, comparing documented statements to documented statements and then comparing the "old" information with "new" information gathered by contemporary field work (see Urbanowicz [1972] for a detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research). The manuscript accounts of the missionaries can be suggestive, without providing any real information, as when the Wesleyan missionary James Watkin (in the archipelago from 1831 to 1837) wrote "this people much in the habit of adopting children" (*Journal* entry of April 9, 1834). However, the missionary statements are useful when they can be compared internally and with external, and known, reputable information. Thomas' following statements can be checked: he wrote of a Tongan girl in 1834 that she was "the reputed daughter of Ulakai" (*Journal* entry of March 9, 1834) when she died in 1841 he wrote that "she was the adopted daughter of the late chief Ulakai and the real daughter of the Tui Tonga" (*Journal* entry of July 13, 1841). In Australia, I examined the genealogical information in the J.E.V. Collocott Manuscript collection pertaining to Tonga and compared those genealogies to information recorded in Tonga - particularly the *Koe Tohi Hohoko Eni 'A Kingi Siaosi Tupou II* held by the Tongan Traditions Committee. The name of the girl proved to be Fatafehi and she was a child of the *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga by his third wife Siulolovao.

[797]

557 553 597 609 7. Fatu, whose full name was Fatukimotulalo, was an important and powerful non-titled *'eiki*. He was the son of Mulikiha'amea and that individual's fifth wife, Ikatonga. Fatu is well reported in the literature: one European, non-missionary, who was living in Tonga wrote how he was "patronized by a chief called Fatou, who has adopted me as his son, married me to his daughter, and given me a house to live in and land to cultivate" (J. Read in Orlebar 1833:69); another European observor wrote that Read had become the "adopted son of the most powerful Pagan chief in the island" (Orlebar 1833:48). Dumont D'Urville remarked that "Palou or Fatou and Tahofa [also called Fae] were without doubt the two most powerful chiefs of Tonga, although inferior to many others by birth" (MS. pp. 7-8). Fatu died on January 10, 1842 (J. Thomas
written on the incorporation of Europeans (both male and female) into Tongan society, such as Read, or Vason, who wrote how he was regarded by Mulikiha'amea

597 to provide information on the adoption of any of their children, the
124 adoption of any of their siblings, and the adoption of any of their
[125] spouse's siblings. In this way a sample of eighty-one adoptions was obtained. It is this sample that provides the statistical data presented in this chapter.

855 In contrast to Western practices of child rearing, the rights and duties of jural parenthood are dispersed and extended to a large number of kinsmen, neighbors, and friends. For instance, a child is seldom called home at mealtime if he is working or playing elsewhere; parents assume that he will be fed wherever he happens to be within the village. It is also expected tha neighbors will generally look after a child
593 whenever he is near their home. Parents frequently leave children of
855 five or older at home while they go to their garden or perform some other task and assume their children will be looked after without any explicit arrangements having been made. Reciprocally, the persons assuming the duties of parenthood claim some of the rights of parents. For instance, adults can expect neighbors' children to run errands and execute minor tasks for them, and they may use corporal punishment to insure that orders are obeyed.

855 When explicit arrangements are made for an adult to care for another's child, the term tokanga'i is used to describe the arrangement. This type of transfer of parental role is only for short periods of time, from a few hours to a few days, and is nearly identical to the Western practice of babysitting.

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

Out of 111 babies examined in one day recently only two had signs of scabies. Yaws seems to have vanished. 744 743 855

A main concern is to persuade Tongan mothers to keep up breast feeding and to teach them how to prepare supplementary foods for the weaning process; it is conjectured that the decrease in the mother's diet of healthy native foods in favour of inferior imported food, such as white bread, has weakened lactation. [64] [853] [262] [178]

For the outlying islands there are occasional visits by the Child Welfare Nurse as well as the services of the A.M.O.; Ha'apai and Vava'u each has a Tongan-trained nurse who reports to the Child Welfare Nurse.

Church The Pivot Of Village Life

The Church has done incalculable service in Tonga and still remains the pivot of village life. 771

With the inspiring leadership of the Queen, the Royal Family and the Chiefly administrators with their fine standards of propriety and dignity, the Kingdom of Tonga pursues its life of dedication to the welfare of its people, to the true husbandry of its land, and to the character training of its rising generation. 181

In this gay, trustworthy, generous and hospitable community one finds that harmony and gracious living so lacking in a world grown weary through selfishness, greedy ambition and disillusionment.

[P. 28-D]

occasion of the presentation of shields for the best village and district. Local shows are also held. 575 462 543

This sense of responsibility for village improvement links the function of the *Langa Fonua* with that of the Women's Health Committees in the villages, voluntary bodies whose object is to improve the standard type of Tongan dwelling house by building sanitary bath houses, cooking and eating shelters and if possible tanks for water storage. Inspections are carried out regularly to enforce rules of cleanliness and to encourage vegetable and flower gardens. 575 462 624 744 [241]

Members of the Health Committee help with treatment of mothers and children for minor or skin ailments and give advice on infant and child care, including feeding. The Health Committee works in close touch with the visiting Child Welfare Nurse; scabies has been reduced almost to vanishing point. [757] [164]

Extensive Child Welfare Services

Child welfare has an important place in the Government programme. A beautifully equipped and expensive new mobile Child Care Clinic with its enthusiastic staff of one New Zealand Plunket-trained general and maternity nurse with one or two Tongan student nurses visits every village in Tongatapu every fortnight for preventive care including weighing, dieting and treatment of minor ailments as well as antenatal cases. All pre-school children are thus under regular observation. 744 743 855

The driver is an integral part of the team, taking his share in dealing out both liquid foods and advice or acting as interpreter.

[P. 28-C]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

262 Cultural patterns, which determine the
264 rank order of food consumption during family meals, also often limit the preschooler's diet.[1]

262 Diet is also influenced by the prestige value of foods as was discussed in relation to papaya, pork and goat. Tubers are generally ascribed a high prestige value in Tonga. This is par-
[146] ticularly true of the yam and white potato. However, leafy vegetables which are potential sources of vitamins lack this status

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[1] Tongan government officials and members of the World Health
[124] Association publicly deny the existence of a feeding order within Tongan households. However, it was confidentially learned from field officers of W.H.O. and medical personnel in Tonga that such a situation does exist and is a significant influence upon the nutritional well-being of the preschooler. Personal observations substantiated the prevalence of a traditional feeding order, in which the meal is consumed in shifts, with adult men (joined occasionally by women) eating first, women and children eating in an order following. It was noted in many cases that preschoolers are unable to
[85] compete with older children for those food items not consumed by adult family members. Occasionally older children are given charge of feeding younger brothers or sisters, and subsequently neglect their responsibility. Thus, another significant factor which influences the nutritional well-being of the preschooler is his age
[22] and ability to fend for himself. A category of foods nearly universally neglected in nutritional survey work is that generally known as "bush food," or those wild or domesticated fruits, nuts, etc. which an individual collects and consumes away from the household. A preschooler is not physically developed enough to take advantage of this food source. A three-year-old was never observed scaling a coconut palm in search of a snack. However, a 40 foot
[22] palm proved no obstacle to a 6- or 7-year-old. Similarly, preschoolers were never observed on the reefs searching for edible raw shellfish. However, older children, as well as numerous adults, were able to take advantage of this valuable protein source. The preschooler is at a developmental stage in which he is totally dependent upon the household for food. However, within the household, he usually consumes only the leftovers and is often left out entirely. This cultural pattern is totally contradictory to the nutritional needs of the growing child.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,